

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8595

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3724

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, MARR, PU, US, PO

SUBJECT: RECOGNITION OF PAIGC

REF: (A) STATE 199228 (NOTAL); (B) CONAKRY 1565 (NOTAL);
(C) LISBON 3705 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: WE RECOMMEND AGAINST RECOGNIZING "STATE OF
INSURGENCY" IN GUINEA-BISSAU AS DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH
FROM FULL RECOGNITION AND POSSIBLY DAMAGING TO OUR AZORES
INTERESTS. WE ALSO RECOMMENDED U.S. DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS
TO SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES WHO REPORTEDLY TEETERING ON VERGE
RECOGNITION, AN ACT WHICH COULD DAMAGE NATO SOLIDARITY AND
ALSO COMPLICATE OUR AZORES NEGOTIATIONS.
END SUMMARY

1. WHATEVER MIGHT BE THE MERITS OR DEMERITS OF CONAKRY'S
PROPOSAL (REF B) FOR RECOGNITION OF A STATE OF INSURGENCY
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IN GUINEA BISSAU, THEREBY CONFERRING A "LIMITED INTERNA-

TIONAL PERSONALITY" ON THE PAIGC, WE WOULD HAVE TO ARGUE AGAINST SUCH A STEP AT THIS TIME. LUIS NAVEGA, FONMIN PATRICIO'S CHIEF OF CABINET, HAS EXPLAINED TO CHARGE THAT, IN SEEKING FROM UNDER SECRETARY PORTER US SUPPORT ON THE PAIGC QUESTION (REF A), PATRICIO HAD IN MIND A PUBLIC DECLARATION BY THE US THAT IT WAS NOT GOING TO RECOGNIZE THE PAIGC AND WHY, ALONG THE LINES OF THE UK AND FRG STATEMENTS; THIS, IN PATRICIO'S VIEW, MIGHT HELP TO STEM THE GROWING TIDE OF RECOGNITIONS. IF INSTEAD WE WERE TO RECOGNIZE A "STATE OF INSURGENCY", THE TIMING WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH FROM FULL RECOGNITION OF THE PAIGC, AND IN THE CONTEXT OF PATRICIO'S REQUEST WOULD APPEAR TO BE A GRATUITOUS SLAP IN THE FACE. THIS IS THE SORT OF THING WHICH COULD ACTIVATE PORTUGUESE PRIDE AND STUBBORNNESS TO THE POINT OF CONVERTING PETULANT STATEMENTS (SUCH AS PATRICIO'S IN REF C WHERE HE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE AZORES BASE AGREEMENT WOULD BE TERMINATED) INTO PETULANT ACTIONS. WHILE THERE MAY BE STRONG AFRICAN REASONS FOR MAKING SOME US GESTURE TOWARD THE PAIGC, NONETHELESS AT A TIME WHEN THE AZORES BASE AGREEMENT RENEGOTIATION HAS IN EFFECT ALREADY STARTED, THE CONSEQUENCES FOR US-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS AND U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS WOULD BE ALL TOO CALCULABLE.

2. AS FOR THE TIDE OF RECOGNITION, THIS IS A TOPIC OF CONSIDERABLE CONSTERNATION AMONG THE SCANDINAVIAN AMBASSADORS IN LISBON. THE DANISH AMBASSADRESS HAS CONVEYED TO THE GOP HER GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE PAIGC, BUT ADMITS AMONG COLLEAGUES THAT IF BOTH SWEDEN AND NORWAY WERE TO DO SO, THE DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON THE DANISH GOVERNMENT MIGHT FORCE THEM TO FOLLOW SUIT. THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR HAS RECEIVED A SIGNAL AT SECOND HAND FROM PRIME MINISTER CAETANO THAT RECOGNITION BY SWEDEN WOULD AUTOMATICALLY FORCE THE GOP TO BREAK RELATIONS. THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR TAKES THIS AS A THREAT DESIGNED TO FORESTALL SUCH ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT, THINKS RECALL OF THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR FROM STOCKHOLM A MORE LIKELY REACTION, BUT DOES NOT RULE OUT A BREAK IN RELATIONS.

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3. PERHAPS MOST WORRIED IS NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR STABELL, WHO OPPOSES RECOGNITION OF THE PAIGC AS POLITICALLY POINTLESS AND AS A LEGAL ABSURDITY (HE IS A LAWYER AND AT ONE POINT HEADED HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY'S LEGAL DEPARTMENT). STABELL STATES THAT NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY WILL SHORTLY BE FORMING A GOVERNMENT WHICH, FOLLOWING LABOR'S LOSSES IN LAST ELECTION, WILL HAVE TO LEAN HEAVILY ON SUPPORT OF FARTHER LEFTIST PARTY.

FURTHERMORE, LABOR PARTY'S OWN POSITION ON PAIGC RECOGNITION MAY BE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY REPORT OF A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY COMMISSION TO STUDY THE QUESTION. THAT COMMITTEE, HEADED BY MP TOR OFTEDAL, ISSUED REPORT SOME TEN DAYS AGO RECOMMENDING RECOGNITION OF PAIGC BY NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT.

4. NATO SOLIDARITY, AS WELL AS U.S. HOPES FOR DELINEATING A COMMON SET OF PRINCIPLES UNITING ATLANTIC-WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS, WOULD CLEARLY SUFFER IF RELATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND NORWAY (AND POSSIBLY DENMARK) WERE BROKEN OR IN SUSPENSE. IT COULD LEAD PORTUGAL TO QUESTION THE VALUE TO ITS VITALS INTERESTS OF NATO AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE SEEKING TO CONVINCE PORTUGAL THAT IT SHOULD FOREGO THE INFLATED COMPENSATION IT WANTS FOR THE AZORES BUT SHOULD RATHER BE WILLING TO MAKE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO NATO BY PROVIDING US THE BASE FREE OF CHARGE. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT SEEMS TO US WELL WORTH THE EFFORT FOR THE U.S. TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS IN OSLO AND COPENHAGEN (STOCKHOLM PRESUMABLY IS A HOPELESS CASE) URGING THAT RECOGNITION OF THE PAIGC BE PUT OFF UNTIL SUCH TIME AS GUINEA BISSAU SATISFIES THE NORMAL INTERNATIONAL LEGAL CRITERIA FOR RECOGNITION.
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